

Message Text

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72

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FM AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

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INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL LUANDA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CINCLANT FOR POLAD

SUSCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L LOURENCO MARQUES 0658

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, MILI, MZ

SUBJECT: FRATERNIZATION, NEGOTIATIONS OR CEASEFIRE?

REF: (A) DAR ES SALAAM 2589; (B) DAR ES SALAAM 2625;

(C) LUSAKA 1578; (D) LOURENCO MARQUES 654

1. SUMMARY: WHILE BOTH PORTUGUESE AND FRELIMO WANT FORMAL
CEASEFIRE AND POLITICAL AGREEMENT, THERE ARE MANY DETAILS
TO BE HAMMERED OUT AND IN THE MEANTIME FRELIMO DOES NOT
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INTEND TO LET UP ENTIRELY ON MILITARY PRESSURE. ON OTHER

HAND, DESPITE SHARFUDIN KHAN'S EXPRESSED SURPRISE, BELIEVE INFORMAL GOP-FRELIMO CONTACTS AND LOCAL CEASEFIRES TAKING PLACE AND THAT ANNOUNCEMENT OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH FRELIMO PARTICIPATION MAY BE MADE AT ANY TIME. END SUMMARY.

2. IN VIEW OF CONFUSING AND OFTEN CONFLICTING REPORTS RE STATUS OF PORTUGUESE-FRELIMO NEGOTIATIONS, TIME HAS COME TO REVIEW THE BIDDING AND SEE WHERE THE CARDS ARE. FOLLOWING QUESTIONS MUST BE ASKED:

A. ARE CEASEFIRE TALKS TAKING PLACE?

B. WHY HAS NO PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT YET BEEN APPOINTED FOR MOZAMBIQUE?

C. WHAT ARE FRELIMO'S PREREQUISITES FOR A CEASEFIRE AND HAVE PORTUGUESE SATISFIED THEM?

D. IS THERE A DE FACTO CEASEFIRE AND IF SO WHY THE SUDDEN WELL-ORGANIZED ATTACK BY FRELIMO IN CABO DELGADO? (SEE REFS B AND D).

3. RE TALKS: ON ONE HAND WE HAVE SHARFUDIN KHAN'S ASSERTION (REF A) THAT THERE IS NO DATE FOR RENEWED FRELIMO-PORTUGUESE NEGOTIATIONS AND STATEMENT PARA 5 OF GOP-WALDHEIM COMMUNIQUE THAT GOP, "FOLLOWING ON CONTACTS ALREADY MADE, WILL TAKE IMMEDIATE MEASURES TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF FRELIMO". ON THE OTHER HAND WE HAVE PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES' ASSERTION IN LISBON RADIO INTERVIEW JULY 30 THAT NEGOTIATIONS WERE NEVER INTERRUPTED, MOREOVER "THEY ARE CONTINUING". WE ALSO HAVE SIMILAR REPORTS FROM FOUR SEPARATE RELIABLE SOURCES HERE, AS WELL AS NUMEROUS INTERNATIONAL PRESS REPORTS. IT APPEARS PROBABLE TO US THAT INFORMAL SECRET CONTACTS HAVE BEEN TAKING PLACE, AS OPPOSED TO FORMAL, PUBLICIZED NEGOTIATIONS.

4. RE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT: IT HAS BEEN 12 DAYS SINCE MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT RESIGNED AND NEITHER JUNTA NOR CABINET SECRETARIES HAVE BEEN APPOINTED. ALL REPORTS FROM HERE AS WELL AS FROM LUSAKA INDICATE THAT PORTUGUESE ARE WILLING TO CONFIDENTIAL

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INCLUDE FRELIMO IN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND FRELIMO WILL ACCEPT A MIXED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH IT "AS DOMINANT ELEMENT AND PARTICIPATION FROM INDIVIDUALS REPRESENTING OTHER ELEMENTS IN MOZAMBIKAN SOCIETY" (REF C). WE BELIEVE DELAY IN APPOINTMENT OF JUNTA AND PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ATTRIBUTABLE PRIMARILY TO NEED FOR GOP TO OBTAIN FRELIMO APPROVAL.

5. WHAT ARE FRELIMO PREREQUISITES FOR CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT AND HAVE PORTUGUESE SATISFIED THEM?

A. RIGHT TO IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE. (THIS HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY SATISFIED BY SPINOLA'S DECLARATION ON IMMEDIATE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE.)

B. RECOGNITION OF FRELIMO AS SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE. (THIS COULD BE SATISFIED BY HAVING FRELIMO REPRESENTED AS ONLY DISTINCT POLITICAL ENTITY IN NEW PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.)

C. IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWERS TO FRELIMO. (THIS IS PROBABLY NOT LITERALLY WANTED BY FRELIMO AND COULD IN LARGE MEASURE BE SATISFIED BY ALLOWING FRELIMO EFFECTIVE MONOPOLY ON ORGANIZING POLITICALLY WITHIN COUNTRY.)

6. IS DE FACTO CEASEFIRE IN EFFECT AND IF SO WHY THE SUDDEN ATTACK IN CABO DELGADO? MOZAMBIQUE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND'S COMMUNIQUE 43/74 (REF D) AND FRELIMO HEADQUARTERS COMMUNIQUE (REF B) INDICATE FRELIMO MAY HAVE DELIBERATELY UNDERTAKEN ATTACK IN ORDER TO QUASH INCREASING REPORTS IN THE WORLD PRESS THAT DE FACTO CEASEFIRE IS IN EFFECT IN MOZAMBIQUE, SINCE THIS COULD UNDERMINE FRELIMO'S BARGAINING POWER IN NEGOTIATIONS. IT WOULD ALSO EXPLAIN WHY GOP MILITARY CHOSE TO PLACE FRELIMO IN BAD LIGHT PUBLICLY RATHER THAN CONVEY SUBSTANCE DISCREETLY TO FRELIMO LEADERSHIP.
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